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APPROVED BY ARA - MR. LUERS

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TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 063343

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IS, XL, CU, PN

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: ISRAELI REQUEST FOR US
VIEWS ON CUBA, PANAMA AND CARIBBEAN

REF: TEL AVIV 1354

1. YOU MAY DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING, AS APPROPRIATE, IN YOUR
DISCUSSION OF MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS WITH THE FOREIGN OFFICE,
IN RESPONSE TO AMBASSADOR JACOB BARMORE'S REQUESTED EX-
CHANGE OF VIEWS ON THESE SUBJECTS:

2. CUBA

REACTIONS HAVE VARIED FROM COUNTRY TO COUNTRY. DEEP APPRE-
HENSION EXISTS IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES: IN CENTRAL AMERICA
(EXCEPT PANAMA) AND IN VENEZUELA. COUNTRIES LONG HOSTILE
TO THE CASTRO REGIME (CHILE, BRAZIL, PARAGUAY, URUGUAY)
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SEE THE ANGOLA ADVENTURE AS FRESH PROOF OF THEIR BELIEF

THAT CASTRO OF 1976 IS THE SAME CASTRO WHO OPENLY SUPPORTED SUBVERSION IN LATIN AMERICA A DECADE AGO. IN SOME OTHER COUNTRIES WITH CLOSE LINKS TO CUBA, NOTABLY JAMAICA AND GUYANA, CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA IS OPENLY PRAISED. PANAMA AND PERU, ALSO WITH EXTENSIVE TIES TO CUBA, HAVE BEEN MORE CIRCUMSPECT AND THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT CUBAN ADVENTURISM HAS RAISED CONCERNS IN SOME GOVERNMENTAL

CIRCLES IN THOSE COUNTRIES.

OVERALL, HOWEVER, CUBAN EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE RESPECTABILITY IN THE HEMISPHERE, A PRIMARY FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVE IN RECENT YEARS, HAS SUFFERED A SETBACK AS A RESULT OF ITS INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA.

WE DO NOT FORESEE AT THIS TIME ANY EFFECT OF THE CUBAN ACTION ON THE OAS DECISION OF JULY 29, 1975. AS SECRETARY KISSINGER AND THE PRESIDENT HAVE PUBLICLY STATED, HOWEVER, THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT TOLERATE AN ANGOLAN TYPE CUBAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER SIGNATORIES TO THE INTER-AMERICAN TREATY OF RECIPROCAL ASSISTANCE (RIO TREATY) HAVE OBLIGATIONS UNDER THIS TREATY TO ACT COLLECTIVELY TO PREVENT AND REPEL THREATS AND ACTS OF AGGRESSION.

3. PANAMA CANAL NEGOTIATIONS

A. WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE GOP IS PROCEEDING IN GOOD FAITH TO TRY AND WORK OUT NEW TREATY WHICH WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES; I.E., (A) PROTECT ESSENTIAL U.S. INTERESTS, (B) ASSURE THAT THIS IMPORTANT WATERWAY REMAINS SECURE AND OPEN FOR WORLD SHIPPING, AND (C) SATISFY PANAMANIAN ASPIRATIONS FOR EFFECTIVE SOVEREIGNTY OVER ALL ITS TERRITORY. THE 1903 TREATY IS NO LONGER ACCEPTABLE TO PANAMANIAN PEOPLE, NOT ONLY TORRIJOS' GOVERNMENT. USG BELIEVES THAT NEW AND MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY TREATY RELATIONSHIP WILL BETTER PROTECT US INTERESTS IN PANAMA AND LATIN AMERICA AS WELL.

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B. TORRIJOS' GOVERNMENT, WHICH HAS BEEN IN POWER FOR 8 YEARS HAS GENERALLY BEEN ADEPT AT BUILDING AND BALANCING SUPPORT OF BOTH MODERATE AND LEFTIST ELEMENTS. GROUP OF EXTREME LEFTISTS IN PANAMA IS SMALL AND FOR MOST PART CONFINED TO STUDENT SECTOR. ITS STRENGTH AND INFLUENCE WILL PROBABLY REMAIN LIMITED AS LONG AS PROGRESS IS BEING MADE IN THE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS. FAILURE TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATION AND REACH AGREEMENT ON DRAFT TREATY, HOWEVER,

WOULD WEAKEN MODERATES AND STRENGTHEN INFLUENCE OF
RADICAL LEFTISTS.

C. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT INDIVIDUAL LATIN OFFICIALS, PARTICULARLY THOSE REPRESENTING VERY CONSERVATIVE REGIMES, HAVE POLITICAL RESERVATIONS ABOUT GOP. LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS, HOWEVER, HAVE UNANIMOUSLY SUPPORTED PANAMANIAN ASPIRATIONS FOR NEW CANAL TREATY AND REGARD OUR HANDLING OF THIS QUESTION AS A POLITICAL TEST OF U.S.

INTENTIONS TOWARD LATIN AMERICA.

D. STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES SIGNED BY SECRETARY KISSINGER AND FOREIGN MINISTER TACK IN FEBRUARY 1974, PROVIDE THAT U.S. WILL RETAIN PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR CANAL OPERATION AND DEFENSE DURING LIFETIME OF TREATY. PANAMA WILL PARTICIPATE IN BOTH FUNCTIONS, BUT IT WILL NOT ASSUME FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR OPERATION OR DEFENSE FOR AN EXTENDED PERIOD UNTIL THE TREATY TERMINATES. BY GIVING PANAMA A MORE TANGIBLE STAKE, WE BELIEVE A NEW TREATY WILL ENHANCE EFFICIENT OPERATION AND DEFENSE OF THE CANAL.

4. THE CARIBBEAN

OUR ASSESSMENT IS THAT CURRENT UNREST IN THE CARIBBEAN MAY HOLD POTENTIAL FOR SOVIET UNION MEDDLING, BUT WE WOULD HESITATE TO DESCRIBE THIS SITUATION AS A "GREAT POSSIBILITY".

OUR VIEW IS THAT GENERALIZATIONS ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CARIBBEAN SUB-REGION AS A WHOLE HAVE ONLY LIMITED UTILITY AND THAT THE SITUATION IN THE REGION MUST BE ANALYZED ON A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BASIS. OF THE COUNTRIES
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MENTIONED IN REFTTEL, TRINIDAD AND BARBADOS ARE AT PRESENT RELATIVELY STABLE - BOTH POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY, AND DO NOT APPEAR TO BE GOOD TARGETS OF OPPORTUNITY FOR THE USSR - EITHER ACTING DIRECTLY, OR THROUGH CASTRO AS A FRONT MAN. BOTH ARE FOLLOWING A GENERALLY CONSTRUCTIVE AND MODERATE FOREIGN POLICY. GUYANA, HOWEVER, IS WELL DOWN THE ROAD TOWARDS AN INDIGENOUS TYPE OF "MARXIST-LENINISM" WHICH INVOLVES CORDIAL RELATIONS WITH ALL THE MAJOR COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. PRIME MINISTER BURNHAM, HOWEVER, IS A VERY SKILLED POLITICIAN, AND HE IS IN FULL CONTROL OF HIS COUNTRY. WE DOUBT THAT HE WOULD PERMIT HIMSELF TO BE USED AS A "CAT'S PAW" BY THE SOVIET UNION.

GRENADA IS A SPECIAL CASE WHICH BEARS LITTLE OR NO RESEMBLANCE TO SITUATIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES SPECIFIED. THERE

IS A GREYDAT CONCENTRATION OF POWER IN THE PRIME MINISTER WHO IS PLACING EXTREMELY HIGH PRIORITY ON OBTAINING FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE. IF THE SOVIET UNION WERE TO FURNISH SUCH AID, IT MIGHT CONCEIVABLY ACHIEVE SOME INFLUENCE.

ONE COUNTRY, NOT MENTIONED BY BARMORE, IS JAMAICA, WHICH IS EXPERIENCING SEVERE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TURBULENCE. THIS SITUATION BEARS SPECIAL WATCHING AND WE WOULD APPRECIATE THE ISRAELI ASSESSMENT OF DEVELOPMENTS THERE. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE ISRAELI EMBASSY IN KINGSTON HAS PARTICULARLY GOOD SOURCES. KISSINGER

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